162 361 porizha 244 %, Kryvyj Rih 156.6 %, Staline 170 %, Konstantynivka 233 %, towns in the Right and Left Bank areas decreased.

The increase in urban population in the Ukraine Soviet Republic is most probably due to foreign immigration. Housing has become worse practically everywhere; it is difficult to imagine that the immigrants can continue to live permanently under such wretched conditions.

474 The rural population was composed almost entirely of members of colkhoses. They possessed almost the entire agricultural land in common, all agricultural machinery and draught animals and much of the other livestock. There remained for personal use only small plots round the cottages, the cottages themselves and a few head of cattle (no horses), pigs and poultry.

474 465 Every member had to work on the soil of the colkhose. His wages were reckoned according to the number of days he had worked and these were calculated according to time and kind of work performed. The amount of grain left after fulfilling obligations to the state and payment for hire of machines and tractors, seed, cattle-breeding expenses, rate of amortisation etc. represented the wages. They were paid in kind and (a smaller proportion) in money. This meant that variations in harvest yield were almost exclusively expressed by what was left for wages. In the first years of the colkhose system, members often received 2-3 kg of grain for a day's work; as their energy was not fully utilised in the colkhose and as the members of the family who were unable to work had also to live from these meager earnings, famine arose in the early thirties in Ukraine, bringing a great increase in the death-rate. Later, wages are said to have been raised but the Soviet statistics do not show whether the wages listed (15 kg and more per day) applied to entire Ukraine or to individual colkhoses. The incomes of the various colkhose members also varied, as administrative jobs were better paid than work in fields and stables, and as several members revealed "propriety instincts" for extending or exploiting their own small share at the expense of the common property.

The proportion of farms managed by individuals decreased to less than 1 % of the entire agricultural area. The men employed at machinery and tractor centers, which seemed to attract all the mechanics required for the colkhose system, formed a privileged class. It depended on them whether an agricultural operation was carried through at the right time. This group was mainly composed of young people and non-Ukrainians. In 1934 some 797 600 were employed on the land and in forests in the Ukraine Soviet Republic. The Soviet officials, not so important numerically as on account of their influence, formed another group of the rural population. Finally, in the country districts there was a fairly large group of teaching and medical staffs and agricultural experts, mostly of Ukrainian peasant origin, as foreigners could not stand life in Ukrainian villages for long. 162 565

Urban population had a large percentage of foreigners, the main social groups being laborers in industry and commerce and the Soviet officials. The number of industrial laborers within the frontiers of the Ukraine Soviet Republic on January 1st, 1936 was 1 308 000. But this figure kept varying constantly, as many of the workers from country districts were not satisfied with conditions of life in the towns and changed jobs frequently or tried to get back home. The Soviet Government fought against these difficulties for years without being able to solve them. This group also included a great number of young people who grew up in post-war conditions. Their nationality varied; about half of the industrial proletariat in Ukraine was of Ukrainian origin. As a rule, material standards were not high. The average wage in 1934 amounted to 166.4 roubles a month, but this figure is not a clear indication of the individual's earning capacity as piece-work was general. In individual cases, where the Stakhanov system (whereby maximum output of labor was achieved) was introduced, higher than average wages were earned. In recent years real wages declined as a result of abolishing the cards which had entitled workmen to certain privileges in buying food and industrial products. Wage earners in Soviet business concerns were similarly situated to those in industrial plants but as the former were less important than the latter in the general scheme of Soviet economy, their develop- 162 369 465 434

ment has been slower and they have not yet reached the same degree of intensity of labor which we found in factories. Jews play a great part in commercial life.

Among the lower categories of civil servants, Ukrainians were in the majority from the beginning, while representatives of foreign nationalities increased in the higher services. The average salary of Soviet officials throws little light on the standard of living in this group of the population because the difference between higher and lower employees is again considerable. Incomes in the lower ranks were very small while the higher officials had a life of ease and could on occasion even afford luxury. Engineers are among the most privileged while teachers and actors are much worse off. The legal status of the Soviet official was entirely insecure; they lived constantly under threat of a "purge" or of being denounced as disturbing the process of Soviet economy. The higher ranks of bureaucrats were here in special danger.

The small group of the professional class (doctors, writers, lawyers), in spite of their freedom, was dependent on the apparatus of the Soviet State. The group of outcasts was most to be pitied, i. e. those who had been expelled by the regime from social intercourse, e. g. merchants, artisans, and priests. After identity cards were introduced and "socially dangerous" persons removed, this group greatly decreased.

Another group, finally, is formed by Ukrainians living outside the frontiers of Ukrainian territory, who as "Kurkuls", "Pests", "Saboteurs" were sent to concentration camps in the North and in Siberia. The "Nationalists" are also included in this group. And the colonisation of remote frontier areas in Soviet Russia required forest laborers, miners and factory workers, who had to help in the coal mines of Siberia and in building up industrial concerns in Central Asia. It is impossible to give statistics for the proportion of Ukrainians in this group, but they cannot be ignored as they will certainly return home and play an important rôle in Ukraine whenever the general situation is altered.

In Ukrainian areas outside of the Soviet Union, conditions resemble those obtaining in Western Europe. The Ukrainian

country for less populated districts in the east, while, on the slightest suspicions, whole families were deported, separated and exiled, and their places taken by people from other Soviet republics who were brought in to destroy the racial unity that formerly existed in the villages.

To appreciate the difficulties of the peasants on the collective farms, we must remember that the involved bureaucratic system had ample opportunities for extorting the grain for little or no payment. Thus the Motor Transport Stations which controlled all the machinery were supported by payments from the collective farms of grain and other products in kind and this usually approached 21.5% of the total yield, while the Stations took over 23% of the crop for the government. Another 15% was retained by the kolhosp for sowing and for various insurance funds that were prescribed by law and another 18% was kept for fodder and for the compensation of the full-time administrators. Thus, there was barely a quarter of the produce left to be distributed among the working population and this was the variable quantity since all of the payments and collections were based not on the actual harvest but on the harvest as planned by the central authorities. Thus, in the case of a bad harvest, the share allotted for distribution was the part that was cut and the government, so far as possible was provided with its expected supply.

This amount was divided among the individuals and families on the basis of the labor days which they had worked. In the beginning a labor day meant labor for a day, no matter how many hours of labor were required, but even before World War II, this simple definition was replaced by a specification that it covered a definite amount of work and it might very easily happen that a slow or poor workman would have to work more than one day to make a labor day. Thus, there was the possibility of still further exploitation of the workmen, who could not know accurately until the end of the year on what they could count.

There was also distributed, likewise in proportion to labor days, a certain sum of money which the kolhosp received from the government in return for the sale of grain over the amount col-

[1 after 1933 famine - - Analyst]

lected for the tax in kind. This was a negligible sum and the average member rarely received more than one ruble per labor day. This sum was, of course, insufficient to provide for the goods which the family needed to purchase, and since their share of the grain was rarely sufficient to feed them, their situation became hopeless, while of other products the individual received about one litre of oil, fifty kilograms of potatoes, thirty-five kilograms of fruit, and five-tenths kilograms of meat and fat.

The real significance of these figures is shown in the prices that were charged in the state stores. There a kilogram of bread cost ninety kopecks, ten eggs brought eight rubles, a kilogram of beef twenty-four rubles, and a pair of boots four hundred and fifty rubles, while a farmer's suit of clothes cost five hundred rubles.

It made the peasant really dependent upon his individual plot of land if he was to secure any necessities. This was far too small and its use was bound with many restrictions. Thus, no family was allowed to hold more than one cow and two calves, one sow, up to ten goats, an undefined number of chickens and up to twenty beehives. In the beginning it was possible for the peasant to secure a certain amount of food for these animals from the common store. He was allowed to retain the manure and it was thus possible for him to improve his own individual plot and thus to secure larger returns. It was a liberal application of such principles that had rendered possible the general improvement which was noticeable during the years 1934-6, when the government was endeavoring to make the system of collective farms workable.

It can be easily seen that the system of allowing individual incomes was based on a principle opposite that of the New Economic Policy, for it would require scarcely a legislative enactment to reduce these amounts while the New Economic Policy presented a norm of profit to the workers. Yet with each year, once the government was convinced of its success, it found it possible in various ways to tap this new source of income for its own purposes.

The favorite method was by taxation. Thus, by 1939 if we should assume that the average family received in cash four hun-

[Ukraine - after 1933 famine -- Analyst]

dred and eighty karbovantsy, they would be required to pay twenty-two and a half karb. in taxes, twenty in rent, fifty as a special tax and they would be required to voluhteer to take at least two hundred in government bonds.

Even this did not cover the total payments to the government. With its usual love of double-talk and subterfuge, the government, which controlled every branch of human activity in the USSR, talked of the establishment of socialism and levied indirect taxes on all transactions so that the actual cost to the villagers of any manufactured article was about three times what it cost the government as producer. The whole subject was carefully veiled as a state secret to protect the Soviet Union against capitalist intrigues but the unfortunate population were the unwilling contributors to this new order of life.

Under such conditions it is extremely difficult to pierce the veil of percentages as to cost and production and give a reliable estimate as to the amount of money received for the government or the relationship between the sums spent in maintaining the operation of the Moscow-controlled factories in Ukraine and the amount spent upon the needs of the population either individually, as families or as citizens of the UkSSR or of the UkSSR as a governmental unity within the Soviet sphere. From those figures which the Soviet has let out, it is possible to see that the yearly budget of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic has run from 2½-5% of the budget of the USSR while the population has been at least 18% of the total population.

With the villages compelled to yield the last pound of grain, etc., that could be extracted by force, and receiving in return almost no manufactured goods, the position of the city workmen and the intelligentsia was little better. The wages of the workmen were always insufficient, the housing conditions were hardly endurable, and the only point of betterment was that the larger places and some of the plants especially favored by the regime received more manufactured goods of a poor quality and at a high price which the fortunate people might be able to secure.

thousand karbovantsy in money. When we remember that, as a result of the Soviet tax system, a pair of shoes cost five hundred karbovantsy and a suit of average quality a little more than one thousand karbovantsy, we can see how dependent the average peasant is upon his small plot on which his egg tax is, whether he raises eggs or not, two hundred per year. In addition, from his cash resources he must buy the grain for his hens or raise it on his own plot.

It is small wonder that the foreign visitor is not welcomed on these collective farms except in a few places which are kept for show. In all of them the Communist heads receive very satisfactory living conditions with opportunities to purchase supplies at very moderate prices in shops devised for Communist administrators, and it is these administrators, and the Communists of the Motor Tractor Stations and the MVD who receive almost the entire income that is allotted to the collective farm.

The position of the city laborer is little better, although he receives in connection with his plant the opportunity of securing whatever the factory heads feel like giving him for food in the factory dining rooms.

In 1946-7, before Western Ukraine was fully Communized, there was another drought in the black earth region and once again starvation hung as a spectre over the entire population. Those who had the strength and courage to get to Western Ukraine in search of food were surprised how much food there was still to be found in those areas where the peasants were still allowed to use their own energy, skill and knowledge even on their own small farms which still looked like paradise to those poor devils who had passed through the period of the thirties.

Still later, collectivization was introduced into Western Ukraine and the other accompaniments of the regime in the east were at once apparent.

The Fifth Five Year Plan which was adopted in 1950 continued and intensified the process. From the figures which has been revealed, it is obvious that the increases which have been demanded of the Ukraine in this period are relatively minor. There

[Post-WORLD WAR II-1945 -- Analyst]

the industrialisation of Russia. The production of the heavy industries in Ukraine gave in 1931 63% of the whole output of coal, 83% of the production of coke and 77% of iron ore of the USSR (*Izvestia:* Moscow, March 1, 1932). "The production of the Ukrainian plants solves the entire problem of metals in the whole Soviet Union" — the Kharkov *Communist* wrote on October 13, 1931. With these demands on the Ukrainian national economy Moscow placed the workers of Ukraine in the worst conditions. In the wage index the Ukrainian metal workers stood in 1931 in the 11th place, the miners in the 19th, the coke workers in the 27th place (*Izvestia:* Moscow, February 1, 1932). The conditions of work, dwelling, social insurance and cultural service of the workers in Ukraine were much worse than in Russia.

The forced collectivisation of the Ukrainian agriculture, started in 1929/30, caused horrible devastation among the Ukrainian peasants. Not less than 200,000 farms were destroyed, their property was taken into the collective farms (*Communist,* Kharkov, December 21, 1934). The owners of these farms, the so-called 'kulaks', were deported together with their families into the North of Russia, where they mostly died of hunger and disease caused by forced labour. If one counts a normal Ukrainian peasant family at least 6 persons the number of those ruined and destroyed by this collectivisation reached 1,200,000 persons. In reality the number of the victims of Stalin's 'General Line' was much greater.

This 'liquidation of the kulaks as a class' has not only taken the lives of millions of Ukrainian farmers: it has destroyed the best elements among the peasants. These peasants were no 'exploiters': they were able farmers who tilled their land in the sweat of their brows and produced grain for their families and for the market. Due to this absurd and cruel 'liquidation of the kulaks' the shortages in the supply of agricultural products grew enormously.

Simultaneously with the 'General Line' the centralisation in Ukraine to Moscow's advantage was tightened: in the administration, in both economy and cultural work. In November 1929, the Commissariat of Agriculture of Ukraine was abolished and Ukrainian agriculture was subordinated directly to Moscow. The autonomy of Ukraine in the field of education was considerably restricted; in 1931 the separate Commissariat of the Interior in Ukraine was abolished; in 1933 the Commissariat of Justice was subordinated to Moscow, etc.

According to the directives from Moscow the Ukrainian culture had to be 'national in form, Communist in content'. Therefore

433 itself to such an extent to the mass production of
461 discards that it regards this condition as an unavoidable fact and builds up its production program on the score of 35 percent discards." (126)

126. Keyserlingk: The Russian Worker Lives in this way, page 32.

000 /Facing page 176/ /An important agricultural product: sunflowers. The seeds are removed from the receptacle with small sticks, and are then taken to the oil mills/1/Facing page 177/ /Picture of a village in the more well-timbered West Ukraine where the houses are built of wood/1/177/

465 In the spring of 1937, two years after the introduction of the Stakhanov System, the average gross wages of the Soviet worker, according to the official figures of the Moscow Statistical Office, amounted to 212 rubles monthly. (127) In the

127. Keyserlingk: The Russian Worker Lives in this way, page 33.

meantime there has hardly been any change in these figures. From these 212 rubles about 10 percent are deducted (128) so that the worker has 191 rubles left over per month to cover his living expenses. If he had no rent to pay, with this amount he could buy 106 kilograms of white bread or 44 kilograms of groats or 119 liters of milk or 29.5 kilograms of sweet cherries; or he could consume 24 canteen meals a month or buy 19 kilograms of margarine. He could also acquire three pairs of sneakers or a pair of cheap men's shoes, provided they are even available in a normal size, - usually there are only outsizes in stock in the state stores and cooperatives, for the Jews have shifted the marketable goods to the open market where their cost is multiple. There would not be enough for a man's suit of the cheapest

1 [For plates, cf. pp. 226-227, category 116-Analyse]

465 quality. For this the worker, if he does not spend any kopeks for food and housing, must work one and one-half months, and two months for the cheapest winter coat. Three colored shirts eat up a month's wages. For the same amount he could buy his wife three summer dresses of poor quality or three sets of underwear or three blouses. (129)

129. Statement of a German specialist in Kiyev.

Far too often the life of the Soviet Ukraine worker is exhausted in the struggle for his daily bread, for clothing and shelter, and yet before the war he was the best paid in Russia. Undoubtedly 345 the Bolsheviks have done a great deal of building, 466 but they neglected the building of houses in favor 185 of the building of clubhouses and palaces for cultural purposes, veritable giant structures of cement and steel where in the evening the locksmiths and metal founders then assemble "in order to hear lectures on Shakespeare". "For in human history there is an urge that has never before been recognized in the great masses...for art and literature. The famous tractor brigade of the Pasha Angelin comes forth with songs, and the workers of the Khar'kov tractor factory organize their own opera. Hundreds of groups of worker and kolhosp newspapers flaunt poems, stories and essays written by forge and tractor workers."

He whose thoughts take flight on the wings of Pegasus will find his hands only mechanically at 433 work. Among the construction workers the "never-before recognized urge of the great masses...for art and literature" expresses itself in the following way, according to Pravda of July 16, 1937: "The brick production program for the year could only be 19 percent accomplished in the first five months of the year, and the two subsequent months have also brought no change. The construct-

433 of the working time in July of this year...The Stalingrad plant presents a similar picture." (131) Where there is no needle there are no

131. Keyserlingk: The Russian Worker Lives in this way, page 25.

clothes. Pravda of May 8, 1939, criticizes the decrease in coal mining in the Donbas as follows: "The mine which determines the fate of the entire trust is behind schedule. It would seem as though the scandalous production which has lasted for a considerable time now would have been given serious consideration. The management of the mine is now trying to explain the poor production by the fact that the workers are leaving in order to attend to their spring planting." Visti of June 10, 1939, supplements this by reporting that the constant decrease of coal mining in the Donets Basin is forcing the economic management of Soviet Ukraine to increase the production of brown coal and turf.

*

562 · By reason of the Soviet Constitution, the
461 East Ukrainian woman has an equal position with
594 the man. This means that she has the same meager
• [465] rights and the same heavy duties. Since the wages of the man are not adequate to support the family, the woman must also earn some of the daily bread. Thus the woman is a worker. The elimination of Sundays and holidays, the long trips to work, the standing-in-line for hours to get food, the shifting of days off in the different plants, the incredible housing shortage, the rearing of children in institutions, the easy divorces of "couples living together" - all this disrupts the family.
594 The devastating consequences which are bound to
161 result from the disregard /181/ of the family,

SU
474
433 which the kolkhoz members were permitted to keep[1] were performing this
438 task, furnishing the city markets with meat, dairy products, eggs,
472 poultry, vegetables, fruit, honey, mushrooms, and berries.

SU
474 In April 1940, in order to provide a wider incentive for the
[442 kolkhoz members to increase their collective production, the system of
434] delivery assessments was radically changed. Whereas the basis for grain deliveries to the government had previously been the amount of land sown or, in the case of meat, milk, eggs and poultry, the size of the herd or flock, the new basis for assessments was the amount of land held by the kolkhoz; and any production above the fixed rates could be retained by the kolkhoz for distribution among the members according to labour days.

U
461 A second decree applying to the Ukraine alone established supple-
474 mentary pay for increasing the crop yield or productiveness in the
241 raising of livestock. This decree directed the collectives of the
466 Ukraine to assign various sections of the field or garden to work teams, working to produce a fixed quota. If the production did not exceed the quota, the members were paid only by the labour day; but if a team produced above the quota, it received part of the excess as bonus.

SU
423 In 1934 the Soviet Government decided to permit individual members of the kolkhozes to keep private farmsteads within the limits of ¼ to 1 hectare. A year later the code for the kolkhozes (called the "Stalin Code") confirmed these rights. It also secured forever the land held by the kolkhozes:

> "All boundaries formerly separating plots of land belonging to members of co-operatives are herby abolished, and all their holdings are pooled together to be used in common...the land occupied by the kolkhozes (as all land in the U.S.S.R.) is public government property. It is...secured to the kolkhozes for use without time limit, that is in perpetuity, and not subject to buying, selling or leasing to anyone by the co-operative... All agricultural production on kolkhoz land, shall be carried on by the members of the kolkhoz, jointly, co-operatively... Out of the land held in common a small part shall be set aside for the use of each household (for truck gardening, orchards, etc.)... The dimensions...may vary...from ¼ to ½ hectare and in certain regions up to one hectare".

1 [SIC-- ANALYST]

Gastronoms

443 434 262 554 461 In addition to the ration stores, Kiev has about five gastronoms, or commercial stores, where unrationed goods are for sale. Most of the gastronoms are stocked almost entirely with delicacies, such as Siberian crabmeat, live carp in water tanks, a little fresh meat, salami, candy, biscuits, and Russian cigarettes. (No UNRRA goods are sold in such stores). Until September 1946 the prices in gastronoms were so high that only a relatively small part of the population could afford to buy. The gastronoms were patronized primarily by those with high earnings - professors, theatrical stars, scientists, artists, high ranking army officers, skilled technicians, etc. One of their main purposes was to show the average worker that some luxuries did exist, and thus encourage him to raise his skills and productivity. Another purpose was to provide a special reward for various kinds of meritorious service. For example, war heroes and top generals were entitled to a 40 per cent discount on all purchases made at a gastronom. Moreover, workers who had stayed at the same factory for six years or more were entitled to a 20 per cent discount, and office workers with similar service to 10 per cent.

[435] In September 1946, in accordance with the decision of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. to abolish differences between the higher "commercial" prices and the low prices of rationed goods, the prices in gastronoms were lowered and certain ration prices, raised somewhat.

[465] At the same time, taking into account the difficulties which average and low-paid workers would encounter as a result of higher ration prices, the Council of Ministers decided to increase all salaries of less than 900 roubles a month. Thus, those workers who previously had earned up to 300 roubles a month received an increase of 110 roubles; those who had earned up to 500 roubles, another 80. Similar increases were allowed in pensions and in students' stipends.

So far as UNRRA food is concerned, the increases in ration prices have affected meat, fish, fats and oils, other categories of UNRRA food supplies particularly milk, cheese, and army rations were not affected.

434 435 The following table shows the increases in ration store prices.